871 668 Communists in China. Language reform, important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform". The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be further discussed.

## IV. THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

871

The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in North China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

### A. Kindergarten and Primary Schools

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The development of kindergartens in North China has been tied in with the child welfare program, and there has not been any specific discussion among the educational circles. Reporting educational development in Peking in 1950, Deputy Mayor Wu Han only mentioned that kindergartens as a whole had undergone a process of reorganization with a view to improving their efficiency and bringing better personnel to these

872 schools.[27] It is presumable that kindergartens in other cities in North China have followed suit.

The development of primary schools received closer attention than did the development of the kindergarten system. The policy has been to strengthen the "complete" primary schools in cities and important villages and to encourage the villagers in outlying districts to establish their own primary schools under local government supervision.[28] To consolidate Party control over these numerous primary schools scattered over wide areas, the Government Administration Council in Peking ordered the assignment of experienced political cadres to supervise the educational agencies in county governments. In addition, primary school principals and other administrators were indoctrinated. In Peking, political indoctrination of schools teachers began in April 1950.[29] During the indoctrination, the educators were expected to learn Marxian theories and Peking's policies of education.

The number of primary schools in this region showed no immediate increase after the Communists' seizure of power. Official attention was focused on the reorganization and consolida-

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27. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 236.

28. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1955 [People's Handbook, 1955], Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955.

29. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 236.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

872 tion of sub-standard schools. In certain areas, more classes were arranged in the same number of schools, thus accommodating more students. Peking, for example, added 27 classes to its suburban primary schools in 1950.[30] Subsequent expansion, according to a Communist report,[31] brought the number of students registered in primary schools in Hopei Province to 4,420,000 in 1954; the number of new schools established since 1949 was 8,693. If these Communist statistics are reliable, the increase is quite significant. Similar expansion is expected to have taken place in Shansi Province, though possibly at a rate somewhat slower than that of Hopei Province.

The trained political cadres who were sent to rural areas to establish primary schools reported a shortage of supplies and a lack of financial support. The situation in North China, however, seems to be much better than that in the more remote areas in Central-South China and Southwest China. The North China press quite frequently printed accounts of "the glorious success" of these Party-assigned schoolmasters who fought for and won the support of the villagers.

The emphasis in primary school education in North China followed the national pattern of

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30. Ibid., p. 237.

31. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 934, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, Nov. 24, 1954.

872 Marxian theories to imbue the students with respect for labor and love for their country. Thus in a history course, the students were told that Confucius was not concerned with the "proletariat" and that he offered advice to the kings in order to perpetuate the feudalistic system.[32] The emphasis on political education in primary school was revealed in the persistent effort to "correct" the attitudes of the teachers. Recantations of these teachers continued to appear and as late as 1954, Huo Chan-hsiang, a teacher at the Chin hsien Primary School in Hopei Province, was still struggling to conform to the orthodox party line in education.[33] Schools were lauded when they succeeded in teaching the students to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm work upon graduation. Primary school teachers were also required to approach the parents of the students to persuade them that it was as noble and as desirable to have their children participate in productive labor upon graduation as to send them to schools of higher education.

873 B. Secondary Schools

In 1950, the secondary schools in North China went through the initial stages of consolidation and reorganization according to the Communist policy for education. According to Communist reports, there were 250 schools with

32. People's Education, Jan. 1952, p. 52.
33. Ibid., Jan. 1954, p. 8.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 . AF12 North China AF12



621 dent that if they received anything more than expense money it was only a small stipend.

After the Nationalist forces reached North China in 1928 a new law was promulgated concerning the organization of the village governments. The village heads were to be elected by balloting at a village meeting where both men and women could vote. Representatives of the hsien government attended to see that the election was properly conducted. By this means it was hoped to overcome the control of the village government generally exercised by the wealthy and influential famili The name of the village organization was changed from Self Government Council, Tzu Chih Hui, to Village Affairs Council, Ts'un Cheng Hui. The organization of the Council and its committees and activities are shown in Figure 18.

This very ambitious organizational program apparently was an attempt to adopt the ideas of progressive foreign town and city administrations. It was generally reported, however, that the actual administration of Chai Ch'eng was still carried on by the village elder and his close advisers.

At the same time that the village council was reorganized the eight self-government districts were abolished and the village was divided into five districts according to the five village streets. The 366 families were divided into 74 lin and 15 lü, five families to a lin and five lin, 25 families, to a lü. A head was appointed for each lin and lü who was to be held responsible for the members of the families under him.

*Village Finance*

621 The village accounts were not available for our study, so a complete report on the village finances is not possible. However, it was reported 872 that in 1904 the Public Service Bureau used the income of 405.5 mu of public land for the establishment of an elementary school. The income from that land, from additional land, and from other sources was not sufficient to meet the customary village expenses plus the cost of the school plus the other constructive activities desired by the village. Something had to be eliminated. It was the dramatic performances given to welcome the gods, the firing of firecrackers, and the building of a mat shed to protect the gods that were discontinued. All these were 621 connected with the celebration of the New Year. At least part of the money saved was used to purchase more village land. According to the

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941) 1948 AF12 North China AF12



If the father wishes to have his son become a merchant or a handicraft master, he sends him to school, old or new, for two to four years to memorize the written characters and learn simple arithmetic, and to work the abacus. At the end of the school years, the father inquires from his relatives and friends who are in business or are owners of workshops whether they are willing to take his son into apprenticeship. Life there is hard. If the boy is intelligent and good-natured, he may become a successful business man or skillful handicraft worker. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, quite a few persons have had this experience. The differentiation of labor among males began long before that among the females. Indeed, one may say that female differentiation of labor has not yet begun in this village.

There is a school with both lower and higher grades in P'ing-chiao-tsun. It occupies a section of the temple building. This in itself is interesting and may be taken as an indication of the changing attitude of the villagers toward temple worship. School education is secular and the temple is supposed to be sacred. It should be added, however, that the secularization of religious worship is an entirely different matter.[21]

There are at present three teachers in the school; one of them is the principal who is an old resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is quite permanent. The second one is a hired teacher who came from another district because of his teaching in this school. He has his sleeping place in a temple room and boards with the principal's family. The third one is the principal's brother's daughter.

In the last two years, the number of students, for which we have kept records, has varied from thirty to ninety. Many students are from villages other than P'ing-chiao-tsun. Thus, though its physical structure is in this village the school has its service extended to a wide area.

The maintenance of the school is not a local matter but the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have a deeper interest in it than folks in other villages. The bureau of education in the city subsidizes it financially, while pupils from other villages as well as this village keep it func-

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21 As an additional indication of the secularization of the function of the temple, it may be pointed out that a retail-store occupies the front-building of the temple. At first it was objected to by the villagers, but later on it was accepted. The school principal has the larger share of the capitalization of the business.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12



tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

## Social Communication

The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

## EDUCATION

When we consider the percentage of children attending school we find the number is very low, 45. 4%, which is largely due to the small number of girl pupils—21. 2% as against 62. 3% for boys.

TABLE LI. PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS

| SCHOOLING | TOTAL | | MALE | | FEMALE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| In schools | 88 | 45.4 | 71 | 62.3 | 17 | 21.2 |
| Not in schools | 106 | 54.6 | 43 | 37.7 | 63 | 78.8 |
| Total | 194 | 100.0 | 114 | 100.0 | 80 | 100.0 |

### 2. The Public school.

The history of the public school has been continually influenned by the social changes in the town. During the half year of this survey the school administraton and teaching staff was changed four times. Founded in 1904 as a district public school and supported by all the thirty four villages of the fifth political district of Wan Ping Hsien, the school has now become purely a town school financed entirely by the taxes collected from the sale of grain. At the beginning of the academic year of 1928-9 there were two teachers for the five grades covering about 70 students. The principal of the school was a political and commercial leader in the town, and as he was in some kind of personal

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12



872 difficulty he did not put in a single appearance at the school. The administrative work was in the hands of two trustees, one acting as principal, and the other being the head of the political organisation. During the absence of the principal and trustee the other member managed the whole business, opening the school and engaging teachers. For some reason one of the teachers was dismissed by the administrative authorities, and another engaged in his place. The Party authorities who came into power at this time thought the change unwise, and changed both the old authorities and the new teacher, so that this teacher only served for a very short time. During several weeks only one teacher was in charge of all the pupils, and he was much criticised by the pupils and the community for being lazy and ignorant. Attendance dropped very quickly, so the Party Authorities discharged this teacher, and as it was impossible for them to get a satisfactory person in the middle of the term, the Party authorities took over the duty until the end of the Autumn term. At the beginning of the Spring term some real improvements were introduced. A new principal who had graduated from the Municipal School, and also studied for some time in the Sino-French University at Peking, was appointed, and he engaged three teachers from the same Normal School. The salaries for teachers has been raised from $12 and $15 to $16 and $20, and the budget has been increased from $600 a year to more than $1000. In the old school there were five grades, first, second, fourth, fifth, and sixth, but these classes were re-organised into five

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12



consecutive grades from first to fifth, and the pupils were re-classified according to their ability. Many new pupils were admitted at the beginning of the Snring term bringing the members up to 121. The distribution of students in the grades is as follows:

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TABLE LII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

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| GRADE | TOTAL | MALE | FEMALE |
|---|---|---|---|
| First | 50 | 35 | 15 |
| Second | 29 | 25 | 4 |
| Third | 18 | 16 | 2 |
| Fourth | 14 | 14 | 0 |
| Fifth | 15 | 15 | 0 |
| Total | 126 | 105 | 21 |

The first grade class is large, and the numbers cannot be increased without sub-division. The second grade has just sufficient pupils, and the higher grades still have some vacancies. This means that the school is being used to its fullest capacity, and further increase in the number of pupils would mean the sub-division of classes and the appointment of more teachers.

It is interesting to notice that the majority of the girls are in the First grade, and not a single girl is registered in the Fourth and Fifth grades. This may either be due to the lower ability of the girls, or

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12



The Ming Shin Primary School.—Primary education at Tangku has always been far from satisfactory. Those who have families with them at Tangku sorely felt the need of a good elementary school where their children might be properly educated. The general manager of the Chiu Ta Company having been informed of the situation was generous enough to donate a sum in February 1925, for the founding of a private school where the children of workers as well as those of administrative staff members are admitted free of tuition. Children whose parents are not connected with the Company are charged $6 a year, payable in two terms. There are two grades offered by the school (1) the elementary grade with 4 years' course and (2) the advanced grade with two years' courses. The curriculum of the school is similar to that in other primary schools except that vocational subjects are taught to advanced grade students. The courses of the two grades are as follows:—

Elementary grade.—National language, arithmetic, nature study, social study, drawing, manual training, music, physical exercises.

Advanced grade.—National language, arithmetic, history, geography, hygiene, civics, nature study, English, useful knowledge of commerce and agriculture, drawing, manual training, music and physical exercises.

The enrollment of the school in 1925 was 19, but it has increased to 92 in 1927. There were at the time of the investigation 61 boys and 31 girls. They were drawn from the following families: administrative staff 33, workers 18, others 41.

General Educational Facilities.—Under this heading may be mentioned the library and public lectures. (1) The Workmen's Library contains daily newspapers and books of about 1,000 volumes which were presented by other institutions and individuals. In July 1927, some more books were purchased. It is a pity that the workers cannot make good use of the books, as some of them are written in rather difficult language. (2) From 1923